Schism in the Stato da mar

The Bishop of Padua and Missions in Southeastern Europe

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ABSTRACT

The dedicated reforming bishop of the landlocked Italian diocese of Padua, Gregorio Barbarigo (1664–1697), looked beyond his borders to help missionary efforts, primarily in Southeastern Europe. This article argues that although the Council of Trent ignored Catholic missions, many reforming bishops saw spreading the faith as crucial to Catholic Reform.

KEYWORDS

Catholic Reform, missions, Venice, Southeastern Europe, education

IZVLEČEK

Gregorio Barbarigo (1664–1697), škof italijanske škofije Padova, se je v svoji vnemi za katoliško obnovo oziral tudi izven meja svoje škofije in je veliko sodeloval pri misijonskih prizadevanjih, predvsem v jugovzhodni Evropi. Čeprav je sam tridentinski koncil katoliške misijone zanemaril, razprava predstavlja hipotezo, da so mnogi škofje širjenje vere pojmovali kot bistveno za katoliško obnovo.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

katoliška obnova, misijoni, Benetke, jugovzhodna Evropa, izobraževanje

In the 1660s, a young Dalmatian named Giovanni Miroslovich enrolled in the Collegio Illirico in the Italian city of Fermo, founded in 1663 by the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda Fide for students from territories under Turkish dominion. His academic career went poorly, however, and in 1668 he was asked to leave because he had a "cloudy and restless brain," only studied the "belle lettere," and refused to attend to his other studies. He left for Venice, but soon moved on to Ragusa (Dubrovnik, Croatia). As he later wrote to the Propaganda Fide, there he took the four minor orders and served as a chaplain, as an earthquake in 1667 had left the city in desperate need of clergy.

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¹ Tabarrini, Francesco Fontana, G. Paglia, e G.B. Contini architetti di Propaganda Fide, p. 275.

² ASPF, *Acta*, b. 37 (1668), fol. 28v; SOCG, b. 433 (1672), fol. 512r.

³ Ibid., fol. 513r; Frazee, Catholics and Sultans, p. 106.

He next returned to his hometown of Popone (Opanci, Croatia), where he was kidnapped by Turks, who "with infinite violence necessary" forced him to convert.⁴ He soon fled his captors and returned to Venice in 1670, where he abjured his errors before the Inquisition. Back in the Christian faith, he lived under the "direction and discipline of the Jesuits." Though it is not clear why, he also began wearing a Dominican habit in spite of the oath he had taken while a student in Fermo, which barred him from becoming a friar. Miroslovich explained all of this in his letters to the Propaganda Fide and requested that he be released from this oath and ordained as a priest. He wished to serve in Venice, Dalmatia, or even Turkey, if the Propaganda would send him.

Miroslovich's request was accompanied by a letter of recommendation from an important man with close ties to the Propaganda Fide, Cardinal-Bishop Gregorio Barbarigo of Padua. Barbarigo's prominence and connections made him an excellent choice for a reference, but how Miroslovich was able to meet him is not clear. While none of the correspondence explains the connection, Barbarigo was deeply invested in both the programs of the Propaganda Fide and missionary efforts in Southeastern Europe, so this could help explain how Miroslovich made contact with a powerful, noble ecclesiastic.

Barbarigo's interest in territories across the Adriatic was a central part of his broader involvement in missionizing and spreading the Catholic faith. Although his primary responsibility was to his diocese, a landlocked Italian territory, he nevertheless wanted to help the Church become truly universal. To this end, Barbarigo converted at least two dozen people – Jews, Muslims, and Protestants - in Padua, supported missionary training and individual missionaries through his seminary, provided missions with important devotional texts through his printing press, and became directly involved with larger attempts to bring people into the Catholic faith. Although his interests were not limited to Southeastern Europe, this zone was certainly a key concern for Barbarigo; most of the students he supported came from Southeastern Europe, he printed key texts in Greek, Albanian, Turkish, and Arabic for use in those missions, and he got involved in negotiations over Greek communities in the stato da mar. While his geographic interests were determined by his personal experiences and history, an interest in globalizing Catholicism was also a concern for other reforming bishops, in spite of the fact that missions

⁴ ASPF, SOCG, b. 433 (1672), fol. 513r. His claim was a common one. See Fosi, Conversion and Autobiography, p. 447.

⁵ ASPF, SOCG, b. 433 (1672), fol. 513r. Unfortunately, record of his abjuration does not survive.

were not mentioned at the Council of Trent and are often ignored in histories of Catholic Reform.⁶

In integrating missionary work or support into his diocesan reform program, Barbarigo primarily looked to the Propaganda Fide. This congregation was founded in 1622 to oversee all Catholic missions, with the twin goals of regaining souls lost to Protestantism and converting non-Christians. They also established a printing press, the Tipografia poliglotta, which produced books and pamphlets for missionary uses in many languages. Finally, they founded a missionary training seminary in Rome and administered colleges around Europe that taught foreign languages and elements of foreign cultures and faiths.

Barbarigo was not unusual in his desire to assist in the Church's larger goal of globalization, but his personal background helps to explain his particular choices. He demonstrated little interest in East Asian, American, or sub-Saharan African missions, preferring to involve himself in European and Mediterranean regions. As a Venetian nobleman, he had strong ties to the *stato da mar* and serious fears of the Ottoman Empire, which helps explain his focus. ¹⁰ In the eastern Adriatic, Venice contended not only with the threat of Ottoman incursion, but also with religious plurality, as the region had many Greek Orthodox residents living amongst the Roman Catholics. Although Venice itself had Greek residents and was somewhat tolerant of their "schismatic" Christianity, allowing them a confraternity and eventually their own Church, they were less comfortable with the existence of Greek populations in the *stato da mar*,

A survey of the decisions of the Propaganda Fide from 1650–1700 yields many examples of European bishops both collaborating with and seeking assistance from the Congregation, but all except Barbarigo governed territories that were subject to the Propaganda Fide, had significant non-Catholic populations, or were on the border of territories of other faiths. These included bishops from Moldavia, Albania, Armenia, Dalmatia, the Piedmont, and Annecy, among others. The records of the decisions in which these bishops feature are in ASPF, Acta, bb. 19–70.

Michele Cassese asserts that Barbarigo became a member of the congregation in 1678, but I have found no archival evidence for this. However, as there are no documents of new cardinals joining the congregation from 1675–1687, it is possible though not likely. Cassese, Gregorio Barbarigo, p. 1038. The record should be in ASPF, CSC, b. 1. I have also searched ASPF, SCV, b. 1; *Ministri*, 1623–1730, b. 1; and the records of meetings which note the cardinals in attendance, Acta, bb. 48–49 (1678–1679).

⁸ Griffin, The Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide, pp. 57–95; Jacqueline, La S. Congrégation de 'Propaganda Fide,' pp. 464–481.

On the Collegio Urbano, see Kowalski, Pontificio Collegio Urbano de Propaganda Fide. On the press, see Galeotti, Della Tipografia Poliglotta di Propaganda.

Members of the family served in government and church positions in Split, Poreč, and Shkodrë. Mrkonjić, Gregorio Barbarigo e Giovanni Pastrizio, p. 1172; Cheney, Bishop Barthelemy Barbarigo, p. 178.

perhaps both because of their larger numbers and their greater distance from Venice (and thus from Venetian oversight).¹¹

Barbarigo's interests in the eastern Adriatic did not go unnoticed. He was elected protector of the Congregazione Illyrica in 1663, providing personal ties to the Roman schiavoni population.12 The Congregazione Illyrica ran a hospital, a hospice house, and a chapter of canons. The Illyrians, or southern Slavonic peoples, of Rome were granted the Church of St. Marina by Pope Nicholas V in 1453, and they rededicated it to St. Jerome. The group established there became a Congregation in 1544, and eventually also supported a school for missionaries to Southeastern Europe. Beginning in the sixteenth century, the Congregation elected a cardinal protector to oversee their accounts and management. When his episcopal duties became too onerous for him to continue to also serve the Congregazione Illyrica, Barbarigo turned over his duty to Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni. 13 Although he only worked with them for a few years, in addition to basic supervision, he helped negotiate the replacement of a confessor at St. Peter's in Rome who spoke Illyrian.¹⁴ As he would later, he proved himself concerned with the ability of Eastern Christians to meaningfully practice their faith.

Gregorio Barbarigo's concern for the Catholic orthodoxy of eastern Christians, along with his fear of the Ottomans and worries about Protestants, brought him into contact with the Propaganda Fide. He was friends with several influential members of the congregation, most notably Cardinal Girolamo Casanate, who ran the Polyglot Press, and Giovanni Pastrizio (Ivan Paštrić), a Dalmatian who began as a printing assistant and later became professor of Controversial Theology at the Collegio Urbano. With Pastrizio, Barbarigo shared interest in the reintegration of the Orthodox Church and concerns about the "schismatic" Greeks in the *stato da mar* and Ottoman territories in Southeastern Europe. Barbarigo also had a very close collaborative relationship with Innocent XI (1676–1689), who was deeply devoted to the project of Tridentine Reform and who kept Barbarigo in Rome for four years (1676–1680), asking him to help to reform monasteries and spread catechism schools. In these

¹¹ Frazee, Catholics and Sultans, pp. 103–126; Fedalto, Greci e Armeni, pp. 305–321; Burke, The Greeks of Venice.

Mrkonjić, Gregorio Barbarigo e Giovanni Pastrizio, pp. 1173–1174. See also Jelić, S. Girolamo de' Schiavoni.

¹³ Mrkonjić, Gregorio Barbarigo e Giovanni Pastrizio, pp. 1169–1178.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 1177.

Callegari, La tipografia del seminario di Padova fondata dal Barbarigo, p. 231; Mrkonjić, Gregorio Barbarigo e Giovanni Pastrizio, p. 1169, fn. 1.

¹⁶ Pampaloni, Saggio introduttivo, pp. xxv-xliii, particularly xxxix and xliii. For more on

four years, Barbarigo also became more involved with the Propaganda Fide.¹⁷ His connections with the eastern Adriatic, Venice, and the Propaganda Fide were all deeply influential in his involvement in missionary work through his seminary, press, and personal involvement.

One of Barbarigo's crowning achievements in Padua was the establishment of a new seminary. Although when he arrived Padua already had a seminary, it was not in good condition; it could accept few students and was not particularly academically rigorous. In order to fix this, Barbarigo first brought in a Jesuit to instruct the few students he did have and set to work re-founding the seminary. By 1674, he had purchased a dissolved monastery which could house four times as many students as the previous location. He then borrowed heavily from the Jesuit Ratio studiorum to devise a rigorous curriculum. While many bishops used elements from the Jesuit curriculum to educate seminarians, Barbarigo's curriculum is nearly identical to the Jesuit plan, down to the inclusion of a large number of foreign languages.¹⁸ The seminary of Padua would offer students instruction not only in Latin, but also in Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Chaldean, Persian, Syriac, and Turkish.¹⁹ Latin was crucial for all priests, as it was the language of the Mass and Scripture. Hebrew, Greek, Syriac, and Chaldean could have been taught simply for exegetical reasons, allowing students to read ancient versions of the Scripture, but they could also have missionary uses, particularly in the Veneto.²⁰ The other languages, however, would have been largely useless for parochial clergy (or even priests working in the episcopal curia) in Padua; these were intended for the prospective missionaries. Because these languages were seldom taught outside of a few specialized schools for missionaries, mostly in Rome, Barbarigo's seminary was a potential boon for the Propaganda Fide.

In addition to offering extraordinary linguistic training and the general training in the *cura animarum* necessary for all clergy, Barbarigo was willing to support potential missionaries in other ways. His letters provide details of

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Innocent XI, see Neveu, Episcopus et Princeps Urbis; Neveu, Culture religieuse et aspirations réformistes; Maras, *Innocent XI*.

¹⁷ Cassese, Gregorio Barbarigo e il rapporto con ebrei e non cattolici, p. 1038.

On other bishops who borrowed elements of the Jesuit curriculum, see Comerford, Ordaining the Catholic Reformation, p. 93. For a close comparison of Barbarigo's curriculum with the Jesuits', see Baldini, L'influenza del cursus gesuitico.

¹⁹ Barbarigo, Ratio, et Institutio Studiorum, pp. 29–31. Syriac and Chaldean are Neo-Aramaic languages/dialects.

It is unclear if the seminary taught only Ancient or also Demotic Greek, but one hagiography claimed Barbarigo said students "could be sent to illuminate the Greeks of their errors," suggesting contemporary Greek instruction as well. Poletto, Il beato Cardinale Gregorio Barbarigo p. 178.

a few students he allowed to attend the seminary for free or reduced fees, and also made note of others who he thought would be good candidates for missionary work because they had good language skills but lacked patrimonies, and consequently could not become parish priests.²¹ It thus seems plausible that he accepted some poorer students to the seminary hoping that they could find a career through the Propaganda Fide. Perhaps because of Barbarigo's connections with the eastern Adriatic, almost all of those who appear in the correspondence between Barbarigo and the Propaganda Fide came originally from this region, and many wished to return there as missionaries.

One student who appears in the correspondence was Giorgio Bogdani, the great-nephew of Archbishop Andrea Bogdani of Uscopia (Skopje, Macedonia) and nephew of Bishop Pietro (Pjetër) Bogdani of Scutari (Shkodrë, Albania), who became Archbishop of Uscopia in 1677 and spent time in Padua when his see was claimed by a Greek Orthodox ecclesiastic. The two men entrusted their nephew to Barbarigo's care and instruction, and Giorgio was maintained in Padua until he took orders. Giorgio's family had wanted him to go to the Propaganda Fide; both his great-uncle and uncle wrote letters in the early 1670s asking for Giorgio to be admitted to the Collegio Urbano.²² They also got Barbarigo to write a letter of recommendation, which noted that the young man was fourteen years old and had begun to study grammar.²³ Evidently these requests did not yield results, and Giorgio ended up in Padua instead. Barbarigo wrote again in 1685, 1694, and finally in 1697 to seek a placement for him. The first two letters explained that the boy was an orphan and the nephew of the Archbishop of Uscopia, who had sent him to study and be cared for in Padua. By 1694, he had received the first tonsure and minor orders, and was doing well in his studies. Barbarigo noted that although he had lost his native tongue, he could easily regain fluency, and perhaps be a successful missionary in his homeland.²⁴ The Congregation answered that he should finish his studies in Padua, as it "would not be considered advantageous for him to change teachers and lose time in the trip to Rome."25 Three years later, Giorgio was still in Padua, and this time Barbarigo asked the Propaganda Fide to promote him to holy orders and accept him into the Congregation of Oblates, which did not require a patrimony; this request was granted, and Giorgio was invited to

²¹ Although few bishops had the resources to help, many wrote asking for placements for students. For a few examples, see ASPF, *Acta*, b. 36 (1667), fols. 20r, 118r; b. 66 (1696), fol. 220r; b. 72 (1702), fols. 299v–302v.

²² ASPF, SOCG, b. 429 (1671), fols. 408r, 411r, and 413r.

²³ Ibid., fol. 415r.

²⁴ ASPF, Acta, b. 64 (1694), fol. 166r–166v.

²⁵ Ibid., fol. 167r.

come to the Collegio Urbano.²⁶ In 1699, he was sent as a missionary to Janjevo (Kosovo).²⁷ Not all of the students Barbarigo supported became missionaries, but clearly the Congregation and the bishop held each other in esteem and collaborated whenever possible.

Barbarigo's support of missionaries and decision to provide training in the *lingue orientali* made his seminary a valuable institution for the Church's missionary goals but brought added challenges to the bishop. He found it hard to supply students with materials for study. In 1680, he commissioned a Hebrew grammar for the use of seminary students, and the difficulties inherent in the process made it clear that ordering bespoke works would not solve the seminary's needs.²⁸ He had just returned from four years in Rome in the service of Innocent XI; time in Rome gave him the opportunity to observe the Polyglot Press.²⁹ Such a press seemed an ideal complement to a seminary teaching languages for missions, and may well have influenced Barbarigo to start his own a few years later.

By 1684 he began to establish his own press.³⁰ This was a massively ambitious project: Barbarigo intended to print in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Chaldean, Persian, Syriac, and Turkish, requiring a dizzying variety of fonts.³¹ To accomplish this, Barbarigo hired Father Luigi Benetelli of Vicenza, the superior of the Minims in Venice; Father Agapito, a minor Franciscan from the Trentino; and several learned men who came from Mesopotamia, including the controversial Timoteo Agnellini.³² These men had impressive linguistic abilities, which they continued to develop while in Padua; for example, Father Agapito studied Turkish, which would make him "even more suitable to serve the Sacred Congregation."³³ They also offered their expertise to seminary

²⁶ ASPF, SOCG, b. 527 (1697), fol. 80v. Granted in Acta, b. 67 (1697), fol. 138r, 249v.

²⁷ ASPF, *Acta*, b. 69 (1699), fol. 169.

²⁸ Rudimenta grammaticae hebraeae ad usum Seminarii Patavini, Venice 1681. Cited in Callegari, La tipografia del seminario di Padova, p. 73, fn. 1.

²⁹ Bellini, La tipografia del seminario di Padova, p. 8; Galeotti, Della Tipografia Poliglotta di Propaganda, pp. 7–30.

³⁰ Callegari, La tipografia del seminario di Padova, p. 85.

³¹ Zuin, Padova e il Corano, p. 23.

Bellini, *La tipografia del seminario di Padova*, p. 8; Callegari, La tipografia del seminario di Padova, p. 73; Pedani Fabris, Intorno alla questione della traduzione del Corano, p. 361. Agnellini (Humaylî Ibn Dacfî Karnûsh) was a Jacobite Syrian Christian who converted to Catholicism and was elected Archbishop of Mardin by its residents, but left Mardin in 1672 for Europe and was in trouble with various ecclesiastical authorities for the rest of his life. Heyberger, La carrière manqué d'un écclésiastique oriental. See also ASPF, *Acta*, b. 70 (1700), fols. 59v–65v.

³³ ASPF, SOCG, b. 501 (1685), fol. 238r.

students: Agapito taught Arabic at the seminary, Agnellini taught Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, and Benetelli taught Hebrew.³⁴

In addition to his staff, Barbarigo acquired eight presses and set about collecting the necessary matrices and typesets immediately.³⁵ In this process, Barbarigo's connections with major figures in Italy was crucial; without the generous assistance of Cardinal Girolamo Casanate of the Polyglot Press, Vitaliano VI Borromeo of the Ambrosian Library in Milan, and Grand-Duke Cosimo III de' Medici of Tuscany, the Paduan press would have struggled. Casanate provided the matrices of Greek characters, Borromeo gave matrices and stamps for Arabic and Hebrew, and Cosimo III sent eleven boxes of matrices and stamps, all in lingue orientali, from the defunct Tipografia Medicea, estimated to amount to over three thousand pieces of type.³⁶ By the end of Barbarigo's life, the seminary press possessed matrices and/or typesets for Hebrew (Rabbinic and Samaritan), Syriac, ancient Chaldean, Nestorian Chaldean, Abyssinian (Ethiopic), Arabic, Arabo-Turkish, Arabo-Persian, Indian, Armenian (including music), Georgian, ecclesiastical Iberian, Glagolitic, Japanese, Congolese, Angolan, Irish, German, Greek, and Latin.³⁷ To obtain the rest, Barbarigo established a copper etching laboratory and a foundry which created both characters and decorative stamps.³⁸ In the 1695 inventory, there were 355 pieces of decoration or miniatures, 63 decorative Greek characters, and 42 stamps for frontispieces and last pages.³⁹

The first books rolled off the presses in 1684 in Greek, beginning with a grammar for students.⁴⁰ Printing in the *lingue orientali* began the following year; the first book was the *Cuneus Prophetarum* of Pietro Bogdani, the aforementioned Archbishop of Skopje.⁴¹ This was the first major work of prose written in Albanian, printed in both Albanian and Italian in parallel columns.⁴² This text was composed while Bogdani was living in Padua, and the printing

³⁴ Barzon, Per lo studio del seminario di Padova, pp. 665–666.

³⁵ Bellini, La tipografia del seminario di Padova, p. 9.

³⁶ Bellini, Storia della tipografia del seminario di Padova, pp. 34–36. Pedani Fabris, Intorno alla questione della traduzione del Corano, pp. 358–362. See also Jones, The Medici Oriental Press, pp. 88–108.

The earliest source for this list is Rosetti, Descrizione delle pitture, sculture, ed architetture, pp. 263–264. It is repeated in Sorgato, Della stamperia del seminario di Padova, p. 8; Bellini, La tipografia del seminario di Padova, p. 9; Bellini, Storia della tipografia del seminario di Padova, p. 30.

³⁸ Bellini, La tipografia del seminario di Padova, p. 9.

³⁹ Bellini, Storia della tipografia del seminario di Padova, p. 36.

⁴⁰ Fedalto, Il Cardinale Gregorio Barbarigo, p. 997.

⁴¹ Callegari, La tipografia del seminario di Padova, p. 73.

Elsie, Albanian Literature, pp. 27-30. Bogdani, Cuneus Prophetarum.

was funded by Barbarigo, again demonstrating his dedication to spreading Catholicism in this region. This was soon followed by a variety of works for students, such as grammars and short texts, mostly in Arabic, Turkish, and Persian. ⁴³ By 1690, Barbarigo acquired a *torcoliere*, a small type of press specifically for printing pamphlets and small books, mostly for either student or missionary purposes. ⁴⁴ The seminary press's ability to print in Arabic was particularly important, as printing was not yet common in the Near and Middle East and by the late seventeenth century most of the presses using Arabic characters in Italy had failed. ⁴⁵ Because of this, Barbarigo provided books not only to missionaries through the intervention of the Propaganda Fide, but also sold books all over Northern Italy and ultramontane Europe. ⁴⁶

Much of what the seminary press produced was intended to help seminary students in their language study, who would presumably become missionaries and put this knowledge to use. But some of the books Barbarigo printed had more explicit missionary purposes as texts to be used by missionaries *in situ*, such as Bogdani's *Cuneus Prophetarum*, a devotional text that explains important elements of the Old Testament and the life, death, and resurrection of Christ, and which Barbarigo, in a prefatory note, wrote was "to instruct the faithful people under the tyranny of the Turks." Barbarigo also sought licenses to print catechisms in a variety of languages, obviously an important tool for conversion. In 1681, for example, he sought permission to print a Hebrew catechism, and in 1685 he sought a license for a catechism book in Illyrian, noting that he had the necessary characters.

⁴³ Callegari, La tipografia del seminario di Padova, p. 73.

⁴⁴ Callegari, La tipografia del seminario di Padova fondata dal Barbarigo, p. 239.

⁴⁵ Zuin, Padova e il Corano, p. 23; Pedani Fabris, Intorno alla questione della traduzione del Corano, p. 361. Printing in the Muslim world began in 1706. Vercellin, Venezia e le origini della stampa, p. 58. For more on the eventual adoption of print in the Ottoman Empire, see Coşgel, Miceli, and Rubin, The Political Economy of Mass Printing; Robinson, Technology and Religious Change, p. 51; Green, Journeymen, Middlemen, p. 24.

⁴⁶ Zuin, Padova e il Corano, p. 23.

⁴⁷ Bogdani, Cuneus Prophetarum, p. 9.

⁴⁸ Many eastern bishops made similar requests; see for example ASPF, *Acta*, b. 58 (1688), fol. 124v; b. 62 (1692), fol. 125r; b. 63 (1693), fol. 114r. Similarly, bishops asked for catechisms and other devotional literature. For examples, see ibid., b. 36 (1667), fol. 40v; b. 37 (1668), fols. 25, 47v; b. 41 (1671), fols. 187v, 406r; b. 50 (1680), fol. 134r; b. 66 (1696), fols. 38r, 203v, 260r; b. 67 (1697), fol. 175r. On one occasion, the bishop of Scutari offered to compose a devotional work about the life of the recently murdered bishop of Pullati. Ibid., b. 41 (1671), fol. 104v. Finally, some bishops sent books to the Propaganda. Ibid., b. 56 (1686), fols. 53v, 72v.

⁴⁹ Ibid., b. 51 (1681), fol. 74r.

⁵⁰ ASPF, SOCG, b. 501 (1685), fol. 279v.

to the "great vigilance and zeal" of Barbarigo in "erecting a seminary and press of lingue orientali, so necessary to augment the Catholic faith" happily granted the license with great thanks for "the work, which would result in no minor profit to the Religion, and glory to [His Excellency] himself."51 Finally in 1692, the Congregation noted that Barbarigo was printing a Greek catechism in order to help convert Greek schismatics in Zara (Zadar, Croatia), then a pressing issue.⁵² Unfortunately, the seminary press did not have an archive until the early twentieth century and much of the early documentation for the press under Barbarigo was destroyed or lost over time. It is thus difficult to know how many of these texts, particularly ephemeral books like catechisms, grammars, and other small texts for pedagogical purposes, were produced in the years from 1684–1697.53 There are, however, at least seventy extant texts in Latin, Greek, Italian, Arabic, Armenian, and Albanian in libraries around the world. Moreover, it is clear from the letters seeking licenses or discussing texts like these catechisms that this was of particular interest to Barbarigo, and if he was able to find or sponsor translations of these texts in all the languages he could print, it seems plausible he did, or at least intended to do so. As a firm believer in the importance of both missionary work and catechism, it was a natural fit for him.

In addition to all the work he did in Padua, Barbarigo supported missionary efforts outside his diocese, mostly in the Adriatic. He was personally involved in several efforts to convert Eastern Christians living in the Venetian *stato da mar* and Ottoman territories in Southeastern Europe and in attempts to reintegrate the Greek Church and bring it under Papal obedience. Again, his dedication to efforts such as these demonstrate a deep and abiding sense that missionary work was part and parcel of his service to the Church.

Both Venetian and Ottoman territories in the eastern Adriatic had a mix of faiths: mostly Roman Catholics, Greek Uniates, and Greek Orthodox, but also Muslims, Jews, and other denominations of Christians, particularly in Ottoman territories. There it was a matter of policy: all peoples of the book were to be tolerated so long as they paid the *jizya* tax, a legal protection that caused many non-Catholics to prefer life in Ottoman territories. In the Venetian *stato da mar*, tolerance of other faiths was not as complete, though the fact that Venice practiced limited toleration of Muslims, Greeks, and Jews in the city made it difficult for Venice to exclude these groups from territories abroad.⁵⁴

⁵¹ ASPF, *Lettere*, b. 74 (1685), fol. 33v.

⁵² ASPF, *Acta*, b. 62 (1692), fol. 218r.

⁵³ Bellini, Storia della tipografia del seminario di Padova, p. 5.

⁵⁴ For a broad discussion of minorities in Venice, see Ravid, Venice and its Minorities.

Acceptance of Orthodox Christians in particular was made easier by the Council of Florence, which had attempted to unify the Latin and Greek Churches in 1439. Although an agreement was reached, it was rejected by most Eastern clergy and laity as theologically suspect and thus rendered moot. The Venetian state, however, chose to believe the agreement was effective.⁵⁵ Evidence to the contrary, then, was problematic. For its part, the Catholic Church wanted actual union or conversion.⁵⁶ The fact that both Venice and the Church wanted similar things meant that bishops like Barbarigo, with strong connections to the Venetian government and the papacy, were in a good position to get involved.⁵⁷

The presence of non-Catholics in the *stato da mar* was a consistent problem for the Catholic bishops who oversaw these areas, but occasionally extraordinary issues arose, particularly during times of war when people were moving around more. Such was the case in 1671, when the Inquisitor of Capodistria (Koper, Slovenia) and the bishop of Pola (Pula, Croatia) sought assistance from the Venetian papal nuncio to deal with a large population of hajduks. These were mercenary legions made up of Croatians, Montenegrins, Serbs, Hungarians, Romanians, and Bulgarians, who had been settled in Pola by the Venetians after their service in the War of Candia. The nuncio, upon receiving this news from the Inquisitor of Capodistria, wrote to both Barbarigo and the Propaganda Fide; Barbarigo also wrote to the Congregation to offer his help. The nuncio informed the Propaganda that there were three hundred soldiers, plus their wives and children, for a total population of about seven hundred people. Their captain, according to a friar living in Dalmatia, was a good Catholic. In spite of this, there was concern about the group's religious identity.

In a subsequent letter, the nuncio reported that a majority of the hajduks were good Catholics who frequented the churches and took the sacraments,

Arbel, Roman Catholics and Greek Orthodox, p. 77. The situation became more complicated after 1564, when Pius IV hardened the Church's official position towards eastern Christians in Roman Catholic territories. O'Mahony, 'Between Rome and Constantinople.'

⁵⁶ For more on the desire to unite the two churches, see Peri, L'unione della Chiesa orientale con Roma

⁵⁷ Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosnia, Slavonia, and the Greek Islands were under the supervision of the Venetian nuncio and typically a Venetian cardinal who was a member of the Propaganda Fide. Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic Europe*, p. 198.

⁵⁸ For more on this episode see Bertoša, Le tribolazioni dell'adattamento.

⁵⁹ ASPF, SOCG, b. 431 (1671), fols. 7r, 9r–9v.

⁶⁰ Ibid., fol. 9r. According to Bertoša, there were 180 armed men, 150 women, and 300 children who came in June 1671; another 59 people (including 20 armed men) arrived in July. Poor conditions caused about two hundred to die by November. Bertoša, Le tribolazioni dell'adattamento, pp. 213 and 215–216.

⁶¹ ASPF, SOCG, b. 431 (1671), fol. 9v.

and had even asked for a picture of the Virgin at an altar for their devotion. However, there was still the problem of those who were not, and the nuncio seems to have considered the possibility of expelling them and a group of "schismatic Greeks" he had discovered were living in the city of Parenzo (Poreč, Croatia). Barbarigo pointed out to him that "while the Republic permits the residence of Schismatic Greeks it would be difficult to expel them from Pola and Parenzo." Barbarigo "had no better remedy than that which a Great Prelate said in France to purge it of heresy: prayer, and the good example of priests." To this he added the importance of a good catechism manual. While Barbarigo understood the concern about these Greek Orthodox residents, he also had the pragmatism of a statesman and knew policies had to be consistent. But just because the Greeks could not be expelled did not mean all was lost; the solution would have to be conversion instead.

The letters continued to come, and they demonstrate one of the reasons why this work was so difficult: the nuncio and Barbarigo were struggling to define the hajduks' faith. Some of their correspondents claimed most were Catholic, while the bishop of Pola considered them to be mostly schismatics, even if they were conforming outwardly.66 Another informant, speaking to the Inquisitor of Capodistria, considered them atheists, as they had not been seen doing any "acts of devotion" and because they did not have priests or directors of conscience.⁶⁷ The Inquisitor further specified that it was the men who "gave no sign or love for religion," and that others were schismatics who openly denied Purgatory, made half the sign of the Cross, and remained standing in church. There were about two or three hundred Catholics among them, mostly women.⁶⁸ Barbarigo suggested that the best solution was "to supply that place with good priests, who with all diligence can use the teaching of the Christian Doctrine" to either convert them or "maintain the Holy Faith in these countries."69 The next challenge, however, was finding priests who spoke their language.70 At various points in this drama, some were suggested, including a Morlach priest (from the Dalmatian hinterlands) living in the Diocese of

⁶² ASPF, SOCG, b. 431 (1671), fol. 11r.

⁶³ Ibid., fol. 12r.

⁶⁴ Ibid., fol. 15r.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid., fol. 17r.

⁶⁷ Ibid., fol. 22r.

⁶⁸ Ibid., fol. 27r.

⁶⁹ Ibid., fol. 18r.

⁷⁰ Ibid., fol. 29r.

Spalato (Split, Croatia), who was apparently already trusted by the hajduks;⁷¹ and an Illyrian priest in Pola who was considered "capable of bringing these schismatics to the good rite," who was ultimately chosen.⁷²

A few months later, the situation seems not to have changed, prompting the Archbishop of Zara to get involved. He informed the Holy Office that the hajduks were divided into two religions: a few were Catholics, and the majority were schismatics and heretics. The former, he wrote, recognized and expressed veneration for the Pope, obeyed Latin bishops and priests, heard mass, confessed, and communicated, but were ignorant of dogma and Catholic teachings. The rest followed the Greek rite, held the pope and Latin bishops in contempt, never confessed, rarely went to church, never prayed, "nurtured the fiercest hatred" for Latin priests, and were ignorant of either Greek or Latin dogma. After this, no further letters survive, which may be explained by the fact that the hajduks largely left the area after the poor reception they received in 1671–1672. Although the resolutions of this and similar problems in the region are not noted, clearly a great deal of time and effort was put into understanding these situations and searching for remedies, a process in which Barbarigo was closely involved.

Barbarigo was thus deeply passionate about the proselytizing efforts of the Catholic Church, and was willing to expend personal and diocesan resources, time, and effort to assist in the Church's larger goals. What is perhaps less clear is why Barbarigo felt this was part of his duty as a bishop, which, despite his cardinal's hat, was his primary identity and calling. While missions may seem a far cry from implementing Tridentine reforms in the diocese of Padua, for Barbarigo they were two sides of the same coin.

In theory, both the missionary and the diocesan programs had the same motivations. Barbarigo looked around his diocese and saw that the predominant problem was ignorance, and thus his primary goals were to educate clergy and laity alike. For the Catholic Church, the threat of infidels, heretics, and pagans was the same: ignorance of the truth of Catholicism. Although not all missions privileged education, it was at the center of Barbarigo's missionary strategies. The best weapons against heresy or infidelity, he believed, were well-trained clergy who understood their converts and the availability of catechisms and other educational texts in local languages. Similarly, in his diocesan reform program, Barbarigo wanted to unite his flock as one community of faith. This

⁷¹ ASPF, SOCG, b. 431 (1671), fol. 31r.

⁷² Ibid., fols. 47r–49v.

⁷³ Ibid., fol. 43r.

⁷⁴ Bertoša, Le tribolazioni dell'adattamento, pp. 221–222.

is but a smaller part of the Catholic Church's global goal in the early modern period: Rome wanted to make a truly catholic Church, one which united people around the world.⁷⁵ Thus the extension of his pastoral goals to encompass foreign territories was no stretch for Barbarigo, particularly when he considered the local advantages of such work.

Moreover, taking part in the missionary program was a practical way for Barbarigo to help make the Veneto a safer place. This was not only a very real concern for the bishop and his flock, who would certainly suffer if the Ottomans invaded Italy, but also perhaps part of his sense of duty and obligation as a Venetian patrician with ties to a region already partly controlled by the Ottomans. Before he told his family that he wanted to enter the Church, Barbarigo was being groomed for political service. As the eldest son of a prominent family, this was expected, and he was sent on several diplomatic envoys and served as a member of the Pien Collegio as one of the *savi agli ordini* in his youth. Throughout his adult life Barbarigo stayed very active in Venetian politics, primarily by corresponding with family and friends, but also by briefly replacing the Venetian ambassador to Rome in the late 1670s. Even while serving the Church, Barbarigo continued to serve the Republic of Venice; making the Adriatic safer by uniting its residents under one faith was just another way to do this.

For Barbarigo, however, it was not just that missionary work stemmed from the same basic goals as diocesan reform or that it made Catholic Christendom safer. Missionary work was part and parcel of the bishop's role. Barbarigo could have contented himself with attempting to convert people who lived in or passed through Padua. But never one to do things by half measure, he became involved in the wider project. As Michele Cassese has argued, Barbarigo believed bishops should propagate the faith, both at home and in missions abroad. Overall, for Barbarigo, his duty as both a cardinal and bishop was to support the program of Catholic Reform in any way possible. At its core, this program was about retaking lost territory and gaining new. This manifested not only as missions to convert Protestants, Jews, Muslims, and the new populations considered "pagan," but also as missions at home, in "Our Indies," meant to bring Catholics fully into the fold in a meaningful way. Although Barbarigo could have a more direct effect on his "Indies" in rural Padua, he also hoped

⁷⁵ See Ditchfield, Decentering the Catholic Reformation; Ditchfield, Tridentine Catholicism.

⁷⁶ Gios, Il giovane Barbarigo, pp. 9–10.

Pampaloni, Saggio introduttivo, pp. cxxviii-clxvii.

⁷⁸ Cassese, Gregorio Barbarigo, p. 1041.

to assist the larger global project of the seventeenth-century Catholic Church, to make the faith global and universal.

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Razkol v beneški stato da mar

Padovski škof Gregorio Barbarigo in misijoni v jugovzhodni Evropi

Povzetek.

Leta 1664 je Gregorio Barbarigo, prvorojenec iz ugledne beneške družine, postal padovski škof. Nadaljnja tri desetletja svojega življenja je posvetil prenovi svoje škofije, kar je kot junaško prizadevanje prepoznala tudi katoliška Cerkev, ko ga je leta 1761 proglasila za blaženega, leta 1960 pa je bil tudi kanoniziran. Barbarigo je stremel za cilji, ki so presegali izrecne cilje tridentinskih reform, in se v svojih prizadevanjih oziral tudi izven meja svoje škofije, saj je veliko pozornosti namenil misijonskemu delu in širjenju katolištva. Upal je, da se bo njegova vera razširila po vsem svetu, deloval pa je predvsem v domačem okolju. Ponudil je pomoč misijonom in individualnim klerikom onkraj Jadranskega morja, na beneških in otomanskih območjih jugovzhodne Evrope. Njegov seminar je skrbel za izobraževanje na področju različnih jezikov in vzgajal potencialne misijonarje, tiskarne pod njegovim okriljem so izdajale katekizme, izobraževalna besedila in nabožno literaturo za rabo misijonarjev v še več jezikih, neposredno pa je bil vključen tudi v prizadevanja, da bi grške ortodoksne kristjane spreobrnil ali integriral v beneško stato da mar. Pričujoči članek preučuje Barbarigovo udejstvovanje pri izobraževanju misijonarjev iz jugovzhodne Evrope in njegovo podpiranje tamkajšnjih misijonov. Čeprav je tridentinski koncil temo misijonov v celoti prezrl, so bili prav reformistični škofje, kakršen je bil Barbarigo, s svojimi misijonskimi prizadevanji ključnega pomena za obnovo katoliške Cerkve.